

Sekkyô and the Tale of Terute in *Oguri Hangan* : Authorizing the Role of Women (Part 1)

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...until sekkyô-bushi, images of such brave, strong women had never been presented before.

Muroki, *Katarimono no Kenkyû* 317.

This paper is Part One of a two part series that concerns the role of females and female spirituality in the sekkyô canon and in particular, in the sekkyô known as *Oguri* or *Oguri Hangan*. In this paper (Part One) I will discuss *sekkyô*, the formation of the *sekkyô* canon and the role that women played in the development of the genre as well as in the formulation of the *sekkyô* narrative *Oguri Hangan*. I will demonstrate through a review of the literature that female religious entertainers were instrumental in creating and promulgating significant portions of the narrative of *Oguri Hangan*. Having established that women were indeed responsible for the creation and circulation of significant portions of the tale (and in so doing I do not mean to rule out the presence of men, but to indicate the participation of women) in Part Two I will read the figure of the female hero of *Oguri Hangan* as a fictional representation of female spiritual practice in medieval Japan. In doing so I will rely on the work of Dee Dyas to explore the interesting and surprising ways in which the dynamic of interior, moral and place pilgrimage are integrated into Terute's spiritual practice.

The Genre of Sekkyô

In 1973, Sekiyama Kazuo [who was born and raised in a temple and was a proponent of *sekkyô* (sermon ballads) from the point of view of religious history,] published an account of institutional sermon ballads titled *Sekkyô no Rekishi-Bukkyô to Wagei*. Sekiyama takes the reader through the development of *sekkyô* from the first known performance in 598

C.E. on the occasion of a request by Emperor Shôtoku Taishi and notes that four years later, an entry in *Nihon Shoki* records that Shôtoku Taishi had another *sekkyô* performed from the *Lotus Sutra*. From these earliest beginnings, Sekiyama follows the development of *sekkyô* through the Heian period, when *sekkyô* was a profession not only for men but also for women who were affiliated with religious institutions and who were required to “master waka with a beautiful voice” (64). He notes a frequently quoted passage from *Makura no Sôshi* (1002 C.E.) where the summoning of a *sekkyô-shi* (説経師) is recorded. The character *shi* is important, and would indicate the presence of a religious affiliation. Both Sekiyama, and Ishii Nobuko, in her article in *Monumenta Nipponica* (1989), note that the term, *sekkyô-sha* (者), is a much later designation. Ishii points out that during the Edo period, *sekkyô-shi* specifically denotes a priest, whereas *sekkyô-sha*, as the term first appears in Edo period chronicles, indicates an itinerant chanter with no religious affiliation. The term *sekkyô-shi* becomes confusing when discussed in an historical context, as Ishii maintains – in contradistinction to Sekiyama – that *sekkyô-shi* in the Heian period (784-1185) were not priests at all, but laymen who performed *sekkyô* as secular entertainment. From Sekiyama's point of view, all *sekkyô* performers are ‘*shi*’; i.e. priests, though some may be considered artists, and others considered as religious missionaries.

The term *sekkyô* can be written as: 説経; literally, explanation/sutra, or 説教; literally, explanation/teaching. While the former is translatable specifically as sutra explanations and maintains a strong religious connection, the latter is translatable as a broader term for teaching explanations that may or may not

include religious dogma. According to Sekiyama, the latter version was introduced and became prevalent in the Meiji period (1868-1912) though he uses both terms interchangeably. For the purposes of this article I will propose that *sekkyô-shi* (説経師) maintained strong religious affiliations and performed *sekkyô* (説経) while *sekkyô-sha* (説教者), as itinerant artists, performed *sekkyô* (説教), reflecting a later development in the history of *sekkyô*; from religious sermon to dramatic literature. However, the distinction between laymen and clerics is often difficult to maintain in Medieval Japan, and *sekkyô-shi*, particularly in the Heian through the Kamakura (1185-1333) and Muromachi periods (1333-1573), in all likelihood had no formal religious affiliation. *Sekkyô-sha*, on the other hand, are invariably laymen or laywomen who appeared in the Edo period, and probably existed before that time.

According to Sekiyama, sermon ballads began with tight religious affiliations to Tendai and Shingon sects in the Nara and Heian periods in Japan. With the growth of Jôdo-shû (Pure Land Sect) under Hônen (1133-1212) and Shin-shû (True Pure Land Sect) under Shinran (1173-1262), *sekkyô* grew increasingly important in promulgating religious teachings to the general public. Within the history of *sekkyô*, an important contributor, Chôken (1126-1203), was trained as a Tendai priest and noted for the exceptional use of his voice. Chôken married and moved to Kyôto, where he lived in Agui. Chôken had an important influence on both Hônen and Shinran, and Sekiyama notes the reported healing properties of a *sekkyô* performance whereby Chôken is said to have cured Hônen of a serious illness by performing *sekkyô* at Hônen's bedside in 1205. With Chôken, *sekkyô* became associated with Agui, and the Agui school (*Agui ryû*) of *sekkyô* was established. Chôken's son, Seikaku (1167-1235), carried on in the Agui tradition of *sekkyô*, and as a result of their relationship, as well as that of his father's relationship with both Hônen and Shinran, *sekkyô* played an important role in the dissemination of religious teachings of both the Pure Land and True Pure Land faiths; i.e. those Buddhist

faiths which are based on intoning the *nenbutsu* as a vehicle for salvation. Sekiyama maintains that it was Shinran, under the influence of *sekkyô* and in his efforts to promulgate his religious teachings to the masses, who attached *fushi* (chant patterns in the historically effective pattern of five and seven syllables found in *waka* poetry,) to *wasan* (four line stanzas) in order to aid his listeners in remembering True Pure Land doctrine.

This innovation; i.e. the addition of rhythmic elements as mnemonic devices to religious teachings, had a profound effect on the history of *sekkyô*, and engendered a new development, that of *fushizuke sekkyô*, or *fushidan sekkyô*. For Sekiyama, the development of *fushidan sekkyô* in the late Kamakura (1185-1333) early Muromachi period (1333-1573) was born of a marriage between the practical needs of gaining religious adherents, and the dissemination of religious teachings, particularly in the True Pure Land tradition under Shinran. With the exception of Sekiyama, many scholars use *sekkyô* as an inclusive term which may, or may not, include *sekkyô-bushi*.

As the Muromachi period progressed, Sekiyama notes that *sekkyô-shi* began to be influenced by artistic and performative elements in society at large, and the use of bells and drums while chanting, in addition to the use of the *sasara* (small drum) and the *biwa* (Japanese lute), became prevalent. Sekiyama maintains that *sekkyô-bushi* arose from *fushidan sekkyô*, enduring throughout the Muromachi Period in Japan, and into the Edo period. Within *sekkyô-bushi* there developed two more types of performance; the first, an art of itinerant performers, and the second, an art of performers in a fixed location. *Uta sekkyô* and *kado sekkyô* were performed by wandering artists, while *sekkyô-bushi* were performed in shelters, and incorporated the use of puppets. Interestingly, at this point Sekiyama drops all reference to *sekkyô-shi*, preferring to refer to those performers of *sekkyô-bushi* from the beginning in the early Muromachi period as wandering artists, claiming that they simply imitated the *sekkyô* of *sekkyô-shi* and turned it into a profession, intimating that we have left the elite

purvey of *sekkyô* proper, and digressed into a popular (and degenerate) art form. The *samisen* (a stringed instrument resembling a banjo), a popular new import from Okinawa, replaced the *sasara* in approximately 1631, and there developed what had now become a fully secularized form of *sekkyô*.

Jôruri (浄瑠璃) or ballad dramas, as a genre of chant intoned to the music of the *samisen* incorporating the use of puppets, began to eclipse *sekkyô* in popularity by about 1660, primarily, according to Ishii in her 1989 article, because the formulaic compositional devices of orally based narratives of the *sekkyô* repertoire were unable to adopt techniques of literary composition incorporated by *jôruri*, and were therefore unable to sustain the interests of an increasingly literate audience. Though *sekkyô* and *sekkyô-bushi* are often called *sekkyô-jôruri*, they are not the same genre of performance. The confusion exists, in part, perhaps, because both genres adopted the use of puppets and existed concurrently in the 17th century.

Araki Shigeru and Yamamoto Kichizô, in their compilation, *Sekkyô-bushi* (1973) note that *sekkyô-bushi* tales were incorporated into *jôruri* performance by dropping the *honji* (religious) format and by shortening the length of the chant [which was quite long, and not structured in a *dan* (chapter) format], to six *dan*, the characteristic length found in a *jôruri* text. Iwasaki Takeo uses the term, *sekkyô ayatsuri shibai* in his book, *Sanshô Dayû Kô* (1973) for *sekkyô* that incorporate the use of puppets, in order to distinguish the genesis of the *sekkyô* (puppet) genre of performance from that of *jôruri*. The use of puppets in the genre of *sekkyô* has been noted in performances of Higurashi Kodayû in Kyôto in the mid 1660's. While *jôruri* benefited tremendously from the compositional and artistic skills of Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1725), and continued to prosper into the 18th century, *sekkyô* had no such champion, and appears to have receded into obscurity by the late 17th century, after enjoying a burst of popularity in the middle 50 years of the 17th century. In the absence of textual evidence for *sekkyô* previous to the 1600's, it is possible to

surmise that *sekkyô* may have enjoyed a great deal of popularity long before the middle of the 17th century.

In her 1989 article in *Monumenta Nipponica*, titled "Sekkyô-bushi," Ishii discusses *sekkyô* from the point of view of dramatic literature, and consequently maintains a very different perspective from that of Sekiyama. While Sekiyama maintains that *sekkyô* existed prior to the Kamakura period in a purely religious context, Ishii outlines a very different picture for the history of *sekkyô* and *sekkyô-bushi*, claiming that as early as the late Heian period, the term *sekkyô* was used to "denote interesting, and often humorous, sermons or anecdotes about priestly teaching" (296). She bases her conclusions on references found in *Chûyûki*, *Ôkagami*, *Konjaku Monogatari*, *Shaseki-shû*, and *Uji Shûi Monogatari*. Ishii concludes that these early references to the entertaining character of *sekkyô* indicate that *sekkyô* had developed into a popular form in the Heian period, and that during the Kamakura period, *sekkyô* was used to denote secular entertainment as performed by laymen. According to Ishii, *sekkyô-bushi* originated as early as the mid-Heian period, and had become secularized by the late Heian. She uses this early conflation of the terms *sekkyô* and *sekkyô-bushi* to explain why the term *sekkyô* (re) emerged in Edo period chronicles. Sekiyama concedes that the term *sekkyô* is also used as a short form for *sekkyô-bushi*, but he differs from Ishii in maintaining that this is a misnomer, for the two are, in his view, quite different. In addition, Ishii disagrees with Sekiyama by disputing the notion that *sekkyô-bushi* are derived from *fushidan sekkyô* (*fushizuke sekkyô*) because of a lack of evidence to that effect, and due to "the absence of any account of *sekkyô-bushi* chant in the early medieval period" (298).

Whether *sekkyô-bushi* existed as early as the Heian period or had its inception in the early Muromachi period, scholars agree that *sekkyô*, and specifically, *sekkyô-bushi*, thrived throughout the medieval period in Japan as a form of didactic entertainment born of popular culture. Barbara Ruch, in her article "Medieval Jongleurs and the Making of a National Literature (1977) distinguished two types

of Muromachi literature; one based upon aesthetic theory which was “practitioner-oriented canonical literature” (e.g. *waka* and *renga*) and another, based wholly on eliciting an emotional response. This latter form, to which *sekkyô-bushi* belongs (along with *heikyoku*, *etoki*, and *jôruri*), Ruch calls “audience-oriented repertory literature” because the appeal of *sekkyô-bushi* “was direct and emotional”, and not based on aesthetic principles (284). As a vocal literary art, Ruch categorizes *sekkyô-bushi* (and *sekkyô*) as *onsei bungaku* (vocal literature) (286). Other scholars, such as Araki and Yamamoto, have denied *sekkyô bushi* (along with *joruri* and *kowakamai*) their status as literary or musical, categorizing *sekkyô-bushi* as *shôdô bungaku*, or religious advocacy. Araki and Yamamoto attribute *sekkyô-bushi* to an art of beggars, to the outcasts of society who could eke out their subsistence by offering their *gei* (literally, art; i.e. *sekkyô-bushi*) in return for food, shelter, and/or other desirable materials. In this vein, Araki and Yamamoto also note *sekkyô-bushi* as indicative of the voice of the weak, the oppressed, and the tyrannized segments of society who grapple with pain, and through the performance of *sekkyô-bushi*, receive condolences in the form of redemption. The oft-noted tragic nature of the tales reflects the living conditions of the men and women who heard and performed *sekkyô-bushi*. Muroki Yatarô, as well, in his work, *Katarimono no Kenkyû* (1970) has characterized *sekkyô-bushi* as an art of beggars.

Yet, as evocations of popular culture in the Muromachi period, there can be no doubt that *sekkyô-bushi* played a prominent role in the fashioning of a national literature for Japan. An image of a *sekkyô-shi* who performs *sasara sekkyô* (*sekkyô-bushi* performed with the use of a *sasara* to beat out a rhythm) can be found in Kanami’s (1333-1384) Nô play, *Jinenkoji*, and it is clear that *sasara sekkyô* was in existence at the time of Zeami (1363-1443). Muroki in his *Katarimono no Kenkyû* (1970) regarded *sekkyô-bushi* as an art of wanderers, and a rural art that took place in the open air along the back roads and thoroughfares of Japan. *Sekkyô-shi* of the Muromachi period appear

to have hailed from as far east of Kyôto as Ômi, Iga, Ise, Hida, Mino, Owari, Mikawa, Tôto mi and Suruga, and as far west of Kyôto as Tanba, Harima, Bizen, Mimasaka and Shikoku. Muroki notes that the document, *Suruga Kuni Zasshi* refers to the existence of *sekkyô mura*, literally *sekkyô* settlements, such as Mabuchi-mura and Kawabe-mura (in the district of Ariwatari in the province of Suruga) where *sekkyô-sha*, also known as *sasara-sha*, lived and congregated. According to Muroki, a festival was held every five years in this district for *sekkyô-sha* to gather; a *sekkyô* reunion (reminiscent of a blues festival). Muroki lists some of the occupations of these *sekkyô-sha* as jailers, sellers of candleswicks, those who dealt with the dead, as well as those who received compensation for chasing birds from fields of grain and/or other crops and those who earned a living selling fragrances. Communities of *sekkyô-sha* tended to live at the foot of mountains and along riverbanks.

By the Edo period *sekkyô-sha* also worked as makers of straw sandals, as spinners, dancers, doctors, and pharmacists. Though there are no extant *sekkyô-bushi* texts as old as extant *jôruri* texts (i.e. before the 17th century), Muroki notes the language of *sekkyô-bushi* performances appears to have been fixed before entering the urban centers of Kyôto, Osaka and Edo during the 1600’s. Muroki claims that the language of the texts that has come down to us from Ôsaka, Kyôto and Edo are all similar, employing similar phrases and formulaic expressions. He surmises that the language of *sekkyô-bushi* constitutes a dialect native to Ise. Araki and Yamamoto speculate that perhaps a group of *sekkyô-bushi* chanters from either Mount Koya or Ise gained prominence in the genre and that their dialect, as well as their style of delivery, was copied by other chanters, becoming the standard for *sekkyô-bushi* as a whole.

Iwasaki Takeo, in his *Sanshō Dayū Kō* (1973) writes that Tennō-ji and Zenkō-ji were temples where *sekkyô* were chanted frequently, and that, in addition to *kado sekkyô* which were performed at gates and corners, *sekkyô* performances occurred inside as well as outside temples and shrines, and at festivals or ritual

occasions. He notes the depth of the content of *sekkyô-bushi* and draws particular attention to the ability of the tales to reflect the lives and the character of the Japanese people, while also emphasizing the religious aspects of *sekkyô* as deriving from the influence of miracle tales and religious legends; with stories associated with temples and shrines. Susan Matisoff, in her 1994 article, “Holy Horrors: The Sermon Ballads of Medieval and Early Modern Japan,” agrees with Iwasaki in noting the influence of a collection of stories contained in the *Shintô-shû* on medieval *sekkyô*.

Iwasaki, rather than relegate *sekkyô* performances as exclusively an art of outcasts and beggars, prefers to locate the *sekkyô* performers, particularly those of *Oguri Hangan*, under the category of *hyôhakumin*, wandering bands of men and women, some of whom abandoned their homes and dwellings for religious purposes. To this diffuse and intriguing phenomenon of medieval Japan there belonged a specific group of men and women with religious aspirations known as *yûgyômin*, who espoused the teachings of Ippen (1239-1288), founder of the *Jishû* faith; a Buddhist sect also known as *Jisshû*, (literally, time/sect) because practitioners followed a strict time schedule for intoning the *nembutsu*. It is to this particular group of men and women that recent scholarship, in particular the work of Imai Masaharu in the 1990’s, has attributed the development and circulation of the *sekkyô-bushi* tale of Oguri and Terute.

Women’s Role in the Composition and Performance of Sekkyô

There are consistent (Orikuchi Shinobu, Shigeru Araki, Yamamoto Kichizô, Iwaki Takeo, Barbara Ruch, Imai Masaharu), and insistent (Usuda Jingorô, Fukuda Akira, Takada Mamoru, Muroki Yatarô, Susan Matisoff) claims on the part of scholars that promulgators of *sekkyô* in the Muromachi period were women. Ruch notes that *sekkyô-bushi* (among other performing arts of Muromachi Japan) “bears the distinctive marks of a female entertainer” (“Other Side” 530-531). Araki and Yamamoto note the role of *kumano bikuni* (Buddhist nuns associated with Mt. Kumano) in circulating *sekkyô-bushi*, but emphasize

the need to examine each tale individually, as the tale’s development is most likely unique to each narrative.

Both Araki and Yamamoto note that the “magico-religiousness” found in *sekkyô-bushi* is a characteristic which they find to be “miko-like” in flavor, noting the influence of *miko* in the composition and/or performance of the tales as a genre (340-343). *Oguri*, in particular, is cited by Araki and Yamamoto as part of the repertoire of *goze*, blind hand drum-playing women who were religio-secular performers, and *itako* (also *idako*), female shamans who wandered the landscape of Japan in the medieval period. Muroki suggests that *miko* who wandered (*aruki miko*) the west coast of Japan along the Japan Sea may have chanted *Oguri* and *Sanshō Daiyû*, and, is strongly supportive of the notion that the *bikuni* (Buddhist nuns) of Yûgyô-ji were instrumental in composing *Oguri* (*Sekkyô-shû* 396). By the Edo period, Muroki notes textual evidence that records the existence of many female chanters (女大夫) in the city of Edo (*Katarimono* 246). The remarkable absence from recorded history of the presence of these women who formed and performed the genre of *sekkyô* may be, in no small part, due to a ban on female performers enforced by the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1629, then renewed in 1640.

Review of the Sekkyô Canon

The earliest collection of sermon ballads, titled *Sekkyô-bushi Shôhonshû*, was published in 1937 and was compiled by Yokoyama Shigeru. This two volume set was expanded and reissued in 1968 in three volumes under a new title, *Sekkyô Shôhonshû*. In 1973, Araki and Yamamoto published their compilation titled *Sekkyô-bushi*, and finally, Muroki published his compilation of *sekkyô* in 1977 under the title, *Sekkyôshû*. Scholarly attention to *sekkyô* texts proliferated in the 1970’s, most notably with Muroki’s *Katarimono no Kenkyû*, published in 1970, and Iwasaki’s *Sanshō Dayû kô*, published in 1973.

The oldest extant *shôhon* (‘true text’ used to indicate a *sekkyô* repertoire text) in the *sekkyô* canon is titled *Sekkyô Karukaya*, and is dated 1631, followed by *Sanshō Dayû* dated 1639, *Sekkyô Shintokumaru* dated

1648, and *Sekkyô Sanshō Dayū* dated 1656 (Araki and Yamamoto 309). According to Araki and Yamamoto, the term *go-sekkyô* (literally five/sermon ballads) indicating the canonic “five *sekkyô*” of the *sekkyô-bushi* repertoire, was established by the Kanbun period (1661-1673). The term, *go-sekkyô*, first appeared in a *shōhon* titled *Oguri/Terute Yume Monogatari* attributed to the chanter, Higurashi Kodayū (*Sekkyô Shōhon-shū* 493). Though the titles of these five *sekkyô* were not noted, it would appear reasonable to include *Oguri* among them, as it was with this text that the term first appeared.

Both Matisoff (1992) and Ishii (1989) refer to an entry in the diary of Lord Matsudaira Yamamoto (dated 1661) wherein he records 11 titles as *sekkyô*: *Aigo no Waka*, *Sanshō-dayū*, *Oguri*, *Shintoku-maru*, *Mokurenki*, *Sumidagawa*, *Sesshōseki*, *Toida*, *Amida no Honji*, *Shaka no Honji*, and *Karukaya* (Ishii 289). Ishii also notes a reference in *Biyō Kejō Jishi* which states that Higurashi Kodayū chanted the following tales in Nagoya in 1665: *Kosui Tennō*, *Sanshō-dayū*, *Aigo no Waka*, *Karukaya*, *Oguri no Hangan*, *Shintoku-maru*, *Matsura no Chōja*, *Ikenie*, and *Kazarashi Monogatari*. Ishii also notes that Yokoyama in his *Sekkyô Shōhon-shū* (1968), appears to have established the canon of *sekkyô* by including the five *sekkyô-bushi* which occur in both lists. Both Muroki (*Katarimono* 255) and Matisoff (“Holy Horrors” 241) refer to *Karukaya* and *Sanshō-dayū* as emblematic of *sekkyô-bushi*, and these two tales, in addition to *Shintoku-maru*, *Oguri*, and *Aigo no Waka*, form the five *sekkyô* tales that constitute the “nucleus of the genre” (Ishii 288).

As Ishii discusses in her article, Yokoyama is primarily responsible for establishing *sekkyô-bushi* as a genre with his compilation, *Sekkyô-bushi Shōhon-shū* (first published in 1937 and reissued as *Sekkyô Shōhon-shū* in 1968.) Yokoyama succeeded in delineating the shared characteristics of *sekkyô*, both linguistic and thematic. Araki and Yamamoto published their compilation, *Sekkyô-shū*, in 1973, and note the presence of two motifs as characteristic of *sekkyô* tales; the birth of a *mōshigo* (miraculous birth of a child as the result of prayer), and the *honji*

(religious) framework, where a protagonist is situated as a man or woman undergoing tremendous trials in this life; their last life before attaining salvation and being reborn as a god, goddess or bodhisattva. The world of *sekkyô-bushi* is characteristically that of the family; of parents and children, couples, siblings, and locates these relations as the source of tragedy that will eventually culminate in redemption.

When commenting on the common themes within the genre, Ishii notes the heroic pattern of the male; in its most basic form, that of initiation, separation, and return. Matisoff points out in her article (“Holy Horrors”) that among the three sermon-ballads which she analyzed (*Karukaya*, *Shintoku-maru* and *Sanshō-dayū*), there is a common pattern of estrangement, death, rebirth and reunion; reflecting, perhaps, the reality of the itinerant lives of the tellers, as well as affecting a symbolic appeal to the needs of the audience in successfully negotiating ritual passage through childhood, adolescence, adulthood, marriage, birth and death.

The Male and Female Protagonists in *Oguri*

Orikuchi Shinobu initiated scholarly inquiry into the tale of *Oguri* and *Terute* in the 1930's by postulating that *Oguri Hangan* was told by shamaness Buddhist nuns (*miko nenbutsu bikuni*) as well as by blind monks and wandering priests who intoned the *nenbutsu* prayer (*nenbutsu hijiri*) at Shinto performances. Orikuchi bases his claim, in part, on his claim that the name, *Terute* (照手), is a misrendering of the name, *Teruhi* (照日), a name given frequently to female companions and followers of *miko*. The name, *Teruhi*, and its variant, *Teruhime*, appear frequently in medieval literature, for example, in the Nō play, *Aoi no Ue*, and in medieval fiction (*chūsei monogatari*) such as *Tsuru no Okina*, *Tamura no Sōshi*, and *Nekomatachi no Monogatari*. Orikuchi's initial investigations into the figure of *Terute* inaugurated a line of inquiry among scholars which has since led to the notion that the image of *Terute* (*Teruhi*) is derived from the image of women doing the missionary work of the *Teruhi* lineage, that is, those women who worshipped and attended the sun goddess, *Amaterasu no Ōmikami*.

According to myth, this supreme goddess of the Shintô faith is responsible for the creation of the Japanese archipelago and is enshrined at the Grand Shrine at Ise, said to be built in 5 B.C.E. by Emperor Suinin to house the imperial mirror, a symbol, perhaps, for the feminine nature of the deity.

In the same way that Orikuchi's research contributed to our knowledge of the image of Terute, Imai has researched the historicity of the figure of Oguri and published his findings in 1990. According to Imai, the name, Oguri (小栗), also appears in relation to the Grand Shrine at Ise, as noted in 1192 in a document titled *Ise Jingû Shinryô Chûmon*, contained in *Jingû Zassho*. According to this source, the clan Oguri is designated as responsible for bearing tribute to the shrines at Ise. The Oguri lands in Hitachi were known as *naigû*, the same name used for the Inner Shrine at Ise, and though hundreds of miles from the shrine at Ise, they were considered as integral to the Ise Shrine as the Inner Shrine itself. The Oguri clan and its domains provided valuable tribute to the Ise Shrine such as silk, horses, oil, cotton and cloth. These goods were put to use in festivals, rituals and celebrations, in addition, perhaps, to providing for the daily needs of the shrine attendants. According to Imai, the Oguri clan was of the Taira lineage and, by the end of the Heian period, was an established clan of the warrior class responsible for administration in the local government of the province of Hitachi. Though the tribute lands of Oguri were transferred to the empress of Go-toba in 1204, it appears that the lands continued to be referred to as those of the Oguri clan, and the connection of the Oguri clan with the Ise Shrine continued to be recognized after the transfer.

There is also textual evidence that the Oguri clan was not only active in local politics but also engaged in public service under the bakufu in the early 1180's and into the 1190's. The Oguri clan and others attacked the castles of those who stood with the Ashikaga in 1337. Imai cites a *Kamakura Ônikki* reference to Ashikaga Mochiuji leading an attack on the Oguri forces (consisting of Oguri Mitsushige, his son Sukeshige and their supporters) in 1423, and he notes

that Mitsushige and his son were defeated and routed from their domains in Hitachi. After Mitsushige died, his son Sukeshige appealed to the bakufu to have the lands in Hitachi returned, and the Hitachi domains were restored to the Oguri clan in 1441. Nevertheless, Sukeshige again clashed with the power elite, and in 1455 he was permanently vanquished in battle by Ashikaga Mochiuji's son, Shigeuchi.

Women's Role in the Development of the Narrative of *Oguri Hangan*

In the early 1960's, two articles appeared in *Kokugakuin Zasshi*, one by Usuda in 1960, and one in 1965 by Fukuda specifically regarding the role of women in creating the narrative of *Oguri Hangan*. Usuda was one of the first scholars (post Orikuchi) to take an interest in the dynamic image of Terute by calling attention to her spiritual encounter with Kannon (the Buddhist bodhisattva of compassion), and claiming that *Oguri* was told by *kumano bikuni* as part of their missionary work while traveling to Sagami province from Kumano. Fukuda's research interests (beginning with his article in 1965) are directed toward his concerns with the figure of the horse (Onikage), the figure of Yokoyama (Terute's father), as well as with the rebirth motifs that were incorporated into the development of the tale.

Fukuda, in his 1965 article, brings up the notion of 'additive plots' as a useful means to conceptualize the process through which the tale of Oguri and Terute developed. The earliest written account of Oguri and Terute is found in *Kamakura Ôzôshi*, a document thought to have been written after 1479 and which purports to recount historical events that occurred during 1423. A portion of this document records the fall of Oguri Mitsushige at the hands of Ashikaga Mochiuji and notes that Oguri Mitsushige and his son, Sukeshige, fled southwards toward Mikawa province. This account, presented as a chronicle of historical events, relates that Sukeshige took refuge at an inn where a band of thieves had congregated. The thieves, wishing to kill Sukeshige and make off with his belongings, plotted to kill him with poisoned sake. Terutehime, one of the courtesans at the inn, informs

Sukeshige of their plan so that Sukeshige only pretends to drink the sake. Sukeshige then flees into the forest and encounters a man-eating horse that he mounts and manages to ride to the residence of the head priest of Fujisawa. The Fujiwasa Shônin, or Buddhist head priest of the Ji sect, takes pity on Sukeshige and sends him on with two Jishû attendants to Mikawa. In the meantime, Teruhime is found out, and the thieves rob her of her belongings and submerge her in a river in an attempt to drown her, but some of the thieves take pity on her and she is saved. During the Eikyô period (1429-1441) Sukeshige returns from Mikawa to look for Teruhime and they are reunited. Sukeshige punishes the thieves and returns to Mikawa with Terute.

It was in 1423 with the fall of the Oguri castle that, as Imai so succinctly put it, the world of the Oguri legend began (*Oguri Densetsu* 26-36). Imai surmises that in the years between 1423 and 1479 the first stirrings of sympathy and consternation began for Oguri, as the only clan opposed to Ashikaga Mochiuji that was completely wiped out, and off, the annals of recorded history. Imai has noted that the addition of Hangan (Lord) to the clan name Oguri occurred sometime between the Muromachi (1333-1600) and Edo periods (1600-1868), and is a reflection of a growing fondness for Oguri, as well an indication of his rising status among the Japanese people.

Keeping the events related in *Kamakura Ôzôshi* in mind, research through the 1960's and 1970's into the tale of Oguri and Terute developed primarily concerning the two most notable of these additive plots; the first involving the mastering of the man-eating horse, Onikage, and the second involving the rebirth motif of Oguri. With regard to the former, Fukuda proposed that tales of horses (*Uma no Monogatari*) as tales told by female shamans of the Teruhi lineage, are the source for the image of Onikage and for the development of the plot surrounding the man-eating horse. According to Fukuda, horses (as well as birds) in medieval Japan were thought to be capable of being ridden by spirits, therefore to manage; i.e. to tame a horse one had to tame the spirits

that possessed the horse. The magic of horses and the image of Onikage is, for Fukuda, an indication that at least a portion of the tale of Oguri and Terute was developed and promulgated by female diviners (Fukuda refers to these women as *fugeki*) who, on certain nights under a full moon, gathered in the pastures of field stewards in order to commune with the spirits of the dead made manifest by the magic of horses. The incorporation of the image of these field stewards in the figure of Yokoyama in the tale is a development that Fukuda attributes to these female diviners, since these field stewards, as those responsible for the care and welfare of horses, played an important role in the lives of these women.

Interest in the figure of the horse grew during the 1970's and a number of articles appeared in *Nihon Bungaku*; two written by Fukuda and five by Mamoru Takada. Fukuda continued to build on his research into the connection between women and horses by examining a document titled *Oguri Ryaku Engi*, thought to date sometime between 1688 and 1704, and kept at Chôshô-in, a subtemple of Yûgyô-ji where the figure of Terute had been enshrined and where the Fujisawa Shônin acted as head priest. This document relates a story of Oguri and Terutehime in which the protagonist is the father, Oguri Mitsushige, and not his son, Sukeshige. According to *Oguri Ryaku Engi*, Oguri Mitsushige flees from the forces of Ashikaga Mochiuji and takes refuge at the mansion of the Yokoyama clan. Here he meets Terutehime. Mitsushige manages to ride Onikage, but he and his ten retainers are subsequently killed by Yokohama with poison sake. The Fujisawa Shônin, here identified specifically as Taiku, has a dream and receives a letter from Enma (the king of hell), as a result of which the Shônin takes Oguri to Kumano where Oguri is immersed in the waters and reborn. Terutehime escapes from the Yokoyama residence, and after enduring hardships while under the protection of Kannon, she arrives at a town called Aohaka. Terutehime is reunited with Oguri Mitsushige in Ôei 33 (1336) and becomes a nun at Chôshô-in in Eikyô 12 (1440).

Building on his research on the figure of

Yokoyama that appears in this *Oguri Ryaku Engi*, Fukuda proposes that Yokoyama is an image reflecting another clan who, like the images of Oguri, Terute and the Fujisawa Shônin, play a role not only in the fictive space of *Oguri Hangan*, but in Japanese history as well. According to Fukuda, the Yokoyama clan were appointed as field stewards in 1004 and were responsible for pastures and for the care and welfare of horses, supplying 40 horses every year to the government beginning in 1159. Though the Yokoyama clan disappeared from history in the conflict of Wada no Ran in 1213, their name has been incorporated into the fictional world of the tale in the figure of Terute's father.

Takada, in his 1970 series of articles, examines the image of Onikage shedding more light on the figure of the horse and drawing connections between the image of the horse and those women responsible for the development of the tale. Focusing on the description of the horse and his hooves, Takada notes that the designation *tsume* (爪: which in the tale are described as thick and long) is actually a word used to describe a claw or talon. Onikage is not, for Takada, a horse, but a conflation of the image of a horse and a serpent; a *ryûma* (竜馬: literally dragon/horse); not quite a horse, nor fully a serpent, but a fearsome beast that lives near water. Referring to a collection of stories titled *Santô Mindanshû* (山島民談集) which contains accounts of *ryûma*, Takada develops Fukuda's notion of horses as spirit bearing entities by discussing the role of these entities in guiding the descent of a god, and also in bearing the spirits of the dead to and from another world; intimating that the portion of the tale concerned with Onikage may be a rebirth motif in disguise.

Takada feels that itinerant religious practitioners (*yûgyômin*: 遊行民) who populated many areas of Japan during the medieval period, identified with the image of Oguri in controlling and managing Onikage through the use of magic and incantations. He feels that *yûgyômin* were responsible for developing this portion of the tale, as the power of their words (manifested in the telling of the tale itself) was

believed by those in the villages and the communities whom the *yûgyômin* encountered to control the water god (竜神: literally, dragon/god), a god closely connected with the figure of the *ryûma* (竜馬) and instantiated in the figure of Onikage. This water god/*ryûma*/Onikage figuration was an essential deity in village communities for the production of food and crops. Controlling Onikage was akin to controlling the forces of life and death, and provided *yûgyômin* with a sense of empowerment in the face of death and disaster.

Takada also makes the claim that Onikage is representative of a local god of village women, Sahe no Kami, responsible not only for guiding the descent of gods, but also for providing divine protection for the spirits of the dead. Takada's formulations have led to an interpretation that Oguri's ability to ride Onikage is a direct result of his relationship with Terute, since the image of Terute is drawn from that of a *miko* who is capable of interpreting dreams (see Matisoff, "Reflections of Terute") and of communicating with those spirits who control horses. According to this line of thinking, the image of the serpent/woman in the tale who resides at Mizogoro Pond is another aspect of the image of Terute, and a manifestation of a *miko*'s powerful relationship with horses, serpents, water, and *ryûma*. Oguri is able to tame Onikage as a direct result of his pledge to this *daija* (大蛇: literally, great/snake) of Mizogoro Pond, an image of a serpent that, like that of Onikage, is closely tied to the image of Terute. Takada feels that medieval audiences may have understood the constellation of images found in the *daija*, Onikage, and Terute, and would have perceived the serpent and the horse as two aspects of one multifaceted entity; a *ryûma*, known for its intimate relationship to water, women, and especially to Terute.

Fukuda published two more articles in the 1970's where he developed an interesting account of the development of the tale of Oguri and Terute based upon his own understanding of the institutional relationship between the Shrine at Ise and the temple, Taiyô-ji. Taiyô-ji, according to Fukuda, belonged to the Oguri

clan, and was located on Oguri lands in Hitachi until the Ôei period (1394-1428) when it was moved in 1425. According to Fukuda, it was this temple which was responsible for the Oguri family legacy, and where Oguri's effigy (*bodai*) is housed, along with markers commemorating the deaths of Oguri's ten retainers. Fukuda proposes that *miko* and later, *bikuni* of Taiyô-ji, whose livelihood consisted in communicating and pacifying the spirits of the dead, were not only responsible for administering to the spirits of the dead of the Oguri clan, but were also cognizant of the close, tribute bearing relation which had existed between the Oguri clan and the shrine at Ise. With this in mind, the telling of the tale of Oguri not only pacified the spirit of Oguri, but also amounted to participating in worship at the Grand Shrine of Ise. The Oguri clan, claims Fukuda, were known as horsemen, and participated in yabusame competitions at festivals at the Ise Shrine. Yabusame (archery performed on horseback) occurred at a festival held two times every year at Ise on the 21st day of the fourth month, and the 10th day of the tenth month. In Fukuda's view, *shinmei miko*, female shamans who may have travelled on pilgrimage routes between Taiyô-ji and the Grand Shrine at Ise, first told the tale of Oguri and Terute for the magical/religious support of the riders (who may or may not have been of the Oguri clan) in order to enable the horsemen to successfully manage their horses while they performed archery on horseback at Ise.

Terute's grave, as well as that of Oguri (Mitsushige) and the horse, Onikage, are not only found at Yûgyô-ji in the subtemple of Chôshô-in, but are also found in the town of Kyôwa not far from Taiyô-ji, at a temple known as Ikkô-ji, founded in 1276 by Ikkô Shônin. The religious adherents of this temple belonged to a sect known as Ikkô-shû, literally single-minded/sect, due to practitioners' fervent dedication to intoning the nenbutsu. These itinerant religious practitioners also devoted themselves to itinerant practice as *yûgyômin* while passing out prayer slips (*fuda*). Fukuda feels that the image of the Fujisawa Shônin in the tale appeared initially at Ikkô-ji. Ikkô-ji was later enveloped by Yûgyô-ji and the *yûgyômin* of

the Jishû Sect of Fujisawa.

The Ikkô-shû are known, in part, for a series of uprisings in the early 15th century under the leadership of Rennyô, the 8th patriarch of Hongan-ji, a lineage which began with Shinran. According to Fukuda, the elders of the community in Kyôwa (in 1965) claimed that they did not believe these graves to be those of Oguri and Terute. The village elders also believed that the grave of Onikage had been moved to Ikkô-ji from some other location. Fukuda's argument that the Hitachi domains of Oguri were connected with the Grand Shrine at Ise is supported by the date marked on an inscription beneath the dais of Terute's grave at Ikkô-ji. This date, the 21st day of the 4th month, was the same date as that of the festival of yabusame at Ise. Fukuda believes that the tale of Oguri and Terute circulated between the two temples of Taiyô-ji and Ikkô-ji via itinerant religious practices of *yûgyômin*.

As mentioned, in addition to their grave markers at Ikkô-ji; Terute, Oguri (Mitsushige), Onikage and the ten retainers have grave markers located at Chôshô-in, a sub-temple of Yûgyô-ji in Fujisawa. Imai expanded on Fukuda's notions during the 1990's by proposing that Oguri was told by itinerant religious practitioners (*yûgyômin*), and specifically by those *yûgyômin* who were connected with the Ji sect, a Buddhist sect whose inception began with Ippen (1239-89), an itinerant holy sage (*yûgyô shônin*) who traveled throughout Japan. Yûgyô-ji in Fujisawa is the present day head temple of the Ji sect. According to Imai the image of the Fujisawa Shônin in the tale of Oguri and Terute is a reflection of an actual Fujisawa Shônin known as Ta-amidabutsu Taiku who, in 1412, and at 43 years of age, became the 14th Shônin after Ippen, and the 8th Fujisawa Shônin. Taiku maintained this position until his death in 1439 at the age of 65. According to Imai, Taiku was chosen by Ashikaga Mochiuji to care for the souls of those men, women and children intentionally and/or unintentionally killed in the campaigns Mochiuji waged against his enemies. Imai refers to the diary of Manzei Jugô, then chief priest of Daiko-ji in Kyôto and the adopted son of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, to point out that it was this same Taiku who was rumored

to have administered 10 recitations of the *nembutsu* to the spirit of Sanemori who appeared to Taiku in 1414. Zeami immortalized this occasion by building his Nô play, *Sanemori* around the image of this occurrence. In addition, the residence of the Fujisawa Shônin was located less than 10 kilometers from the Ashikaga residence at Kamakura.

Imai has proposed that *Oguri* was told by Jishû acolytes, some of whom were monks and nuns, and some of whom were lay people, and many of whom were associated with Jishû temples other than Yûgyô-ji. These men and women appear to have wandered (*yûgyô*) throughout Japan beating a gong while intoning *wasan*, *nembutsu*, and perhaps portions of the tale of *Oguri Hangan*. Kumano (where *Oguri* is immersed and reborn in the fictional world of the tale) is a meaningful site for members of the Jishû sect, as Ippen was reported to have had a revelation there which greatly impacted Jishû doctrine.

Matisoff has published her article "Reflections of Terute: Searching for a Hidden Shaman-Entertainer" in *Women and Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* (2001), in which she runs over much of the scholarly information noted above. Matisoff agrees with Muroki in claiming that *aruki miko* (wandering miko) "had a hand" (114) in the development of the tale of *Oguri* and Terute and that "Terute's figuration reflects, as in her clouded mirror, the shaman-entertainer, chanting a tale which is a complex mix of realism and desire, singing a song of herself" (131). The research of Usuda, Fukuda and Takada during the 60's and 70's has been pivotal in establishing the predominance of women religious practitioners (both Buddhist and Shintô) in forming the tale of *Oguri* and Terute, most particularly in creating those portions of the tale regarding the figure of Onikage and the rebirth motif of *Oguri*.

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説教と小栗判官の照手物語：女性の役割の重要性

バーバラ・モリソン

要約

本論文は二つに分れており、ここ Part 1 では日本の学者の研究をまとめて、説教と女性の役割を明らかにする。まず、説教（説経、または説経節）の歴史を見てから、説教者は女性であったことを明らかにする。女性であった説教者について、臼田甚五郎、福田晃、武田衛の研究を分析した上で、小栗判官を語った女性の姿に焦点をあてる。Part 2 では女性が語った小栗判官の主人公照手のイメージを考察し、中世の日本女性の精神性はどういう形であったかを詳しく論じる。

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